

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5674

INFO USIA

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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L MANAGUA 4700

USCINCSO FOR POLAD

USIA FOR ILA

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, NU

SUBJECT: ANTI-SOMOZA FRONT (UDEL) FORMED

SUMMARY: NINE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PREVIOUSLY ENDORSED ABSTENTION IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AGREED UPON BASIC PRECEPTS IN ESTABLISHING THE ANTI-SOMOZA DEMOCRATIC UNION OF LIBERATION (USDEL). RANGING ACROSS THE OPPOSITION POLITICAL SPECTRUM FROM RIGHT TO LEFT, THE GROUP INCLUDES DISSIDENT LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES, SOCIAL CHRISTIANS AND COMMUNISTS. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO IS LIKELY TO EMERGE AS ITS PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN. THE INCLUSION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE GROUP IS A MILESTONE IN NICARAGUAN POLITICS AND RATIFIES THEIR NEW RESPECTABILITY IN OPPOSITION CIRCLES. END SUMMARY.

1. IN MIDST OF PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION PREPARATIONS, THE MOST  
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DETERMINED ANTI-SOMOZA OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH DENOUNCED THE 1974 ELECTIONS AS A FRAUD AND THE INAUGURAL EVENT AS A MASQUERADE

RELEASED A STATEMENT ON NOVEMBER 30 DECLARING THEIR INTENT TO FORMALIZE THEIR LOOSE ALLIANCE INTO A STRUCTURED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. TO BE CALLED THE DEMONCRATIC UNION OF LIBERATION (USDEL), THE NEW OPPOSITION FORCE WILL BE LAUNCHED FORMALLY AT A MEETING IN MASAYA DECEMBER 15. ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT, STATUTES TO GOVERN THE GROUP WILL BE APPROVED AND ITS LEADERS WILL BE CHOSEN AT THAT MEETING.

2. THOSE SIGNING THE STATEMENT REPRESENT THE SAME NINE GROUPS WHICH JOINED IN CALLING FOR ABSTENTION FROM THE 1974 ELECTIONS AND CHALLENGED THEIR LEGALITY BEFORE THE SUPREME ELECTORAL TRIBUNAL. THEY CONSIST OF THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY (PSC); THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSN - COMMUNIST); THE PERSONAL CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL FACTIONS OF CHAMORRO AND RAMIRO SACASA, NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE ACTION (ANC) AND MOVIMIENTO LIBERWL CONSTITUCIONALISTA RESPECTIVELY; THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL SALVATION; THE INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY (PLI), AND THE COMMUNIST (CGT-I) AND SOCIAL CHRISTIAN (CTN) LABOR CONFEDERATIONS.

3. THE GOALS OF USDEL ENUNCIATED IN THE NOVEMBER 30 STATEMENT, PRESENT A LITANY OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM OBJECTIVES. THEY SUGGEST AN ORIENTATION BASED ON A COMPOSITE OF BOTH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC AND MILDLY-LEFTIST-NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY. THE MEETING ON THE FIFTEENTH IS EXPECTED TO CLARIFY AND ELABORATE ON THIS HAZY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

4. RIDING HIGH IN OPPOSITION CIRCLES OWING TO HIS FAME AS THE VICTOR IN THE AMADA PINEDA LIBEL CASE (MANAGUA 4465), PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO IS EXPECTED TO BE CHOSEN THE LEADER AND PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN OF UDEL. HE WILL, HOWEVER, BE RESPONSIBLE TO A NINE-MAN COMMITTEE WITH ONE REPRESENTATIVE FROM EACH OF THE GROUPS JOINING THE ORGANIZATION. IN ADDITION, ACCORDING TO EMBASSY SOURCES, THERE WILL BE A SECOND-IN-COMMAND FOR THE GROUP WITH THE TITLE OF COORDINATOR WHO IS EXPECTED TO BE OUTGOING SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY PRESIDENT MANALO MORALES.

5. COMMENT: THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FEATURE OF THE NEW GROUP IS THE FORMAL INCLUSION OF COMMUNISTS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A PREDOMINANTLY NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. THE  
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COMMUNISTS HAVE MADE IMPRESSIVE STRIDES TOWARD RESPECTABILITY AND INFLUENCE SINCE THE EARTHQUAKE, MOSTLY BECAUSE OF THE ROLE THAT THE CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION (SCAAS) HAS ASSUMED AS THE LEADING EDGE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE PSN'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE IDEOLOGICAL ACCOMMODATIONS. PARTICIPATION IN UDEL FORMALIZES THEIR NEW STATUS AND ENDS THEIR ISOLATION IN NICARAGUAN POLITICS.

6. SPEAKING RECENTLY TO POLOFF AND VISITING NICARAGUA DESK OFFICER IN ANTICIPATION OF THE AGREEMENT, CHAMORRO DID NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY

DEFENSIVE ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNISTS. HE REMARKED THAT PREVIOUS UNITY EFFORTS HAD BEEN HANDICAPPED BY THE ABSENCE OF LINES TO THE URBAN WORKERS AND THE COMMUNISTS ARE IN BEST POSITION TO PROVIDE THESE. ASKED WHETHER ANTI-COMMUNISM AS A CONDITIONED REFLEX AMONG NICARAGUANS MIGHT CAUSE THE MOVEMENT TO LOSE SUPPORT AMONG NON-MARXISTS, HE ARGUED THAT WORLD-WIDE DETENTE, ABUSE OF THE COMMUNIST BOGEY ARGUMENT BY SOMOZA, AND THE COMMUNISTS OWN MODERATION HAVE REDUCED THAT POSSIBILITY. THE COMMUNISTS, HE SAID, ARE A MINORITY WITHIN THE UDEL AND ARE STUCK WITH WHAT HE CHARACTERIZED AS A LIBERAL BOURGEOIS PLATFORM. HE ADDED THAT NON-MARXISTS ON THE UDEL ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE COMMUNISTS SERIOUS DEDICATION TO POLITICS AND ARE AWARE THAT THEY MUST WORK JUST AS HARD TO PRESERVE THE NEW ALLIANCE AS A LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.

7. ALTHOUGH UDEL ELEMENTS SEEM UNANIMOUS NOW IN DISMISSING ELECTIONS AS MEANS TO TOPPLE THE SOMOZA REGIME, THEY DO NOT SEEM ENCOURAGED BY THE PROSPECTS FOR DIRECT ACTION EITHER. INSTEAD THEY APPEAR TO AGREE THAT THE OPPOSITION MUST REDUCE FIGHTING AMONG THEMSELVES, UNIFY AND ORGANIZE TO PREPARE TO EXPLOIT ANY CONTINGENCY. SINCE EVEN MANY AGUERISTA AND PAGUAGISTA CONSERVATIVES, (IF NOT FERNANDO AGUERO AND EDMUNDO PAGUAGA THEMSELVES,) HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THIS STRATEGY, INCLUDING COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION, UDEL'S FORMATION AT THIS TIME SEEMS PROPITIOUS. IF IT HOLDS TOGETHER, IT IS LIABLE TO BECOME THE FOCAL POINT OF BROADER OPPOSITION EFFORTS IN THE FUTURE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL SITUATION, ELECTIONS, COMMUNISTS  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** izenbei0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** izenbei0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10 SEP 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <10 SEP 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <13 MAR 2003 by izenbei0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ANTI-SOMOZA FRONT (UDEL) FORMED SUMMARY: NINE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PREVIOUSLY ENDORSED  
**TAGS:** PINT, NU, DEMOCRATIC UNION OF LIBERATION, (CHAMORRO, PEDRO JOAQUIN), (SOMOZA)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005